

# Scandinavia

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## THE MUSICIANS OF SCANDINAVIA.

The music of Scandinavia might not inaptly be called the music of nature. Its basis is melody, its quality lyric, rather than dramatic. It is purely national, and mainly local in color. English, French, German, and Italian music are more or less related. The Scandinavian music is as distinctive as the Magyar and the Gypsy. It is indigenous to the North. Its most common form is the *Folkesang*, and in this form it preserves the ballads, legends, and tales of the old Northern heroes, the pastoral life of the herdsman, the dances and festivals of the peasants, the heroic deeds of the sturdy warriors. Few Scandinavian composers have wandered from home to study the schools of other countries, and it is questionable whether those few have improved the quality of their music by foreign grafts. Not that the Scandinavian composers have confined themselves to lyrics. On the other hand several of them have written operas, symphonies, cantatas, and chamber-music, and have achieved fame beyond their own bounds,—for Gade was a favorite of both Mendelssohn and Schumann; and Kuhlau was highly esteemed by Beethoven; and Svendsen has found admirers in this New World as interpreted

by Theodore Thomas; but the Scandinavian composers are found at their best in their own music, illustrating the spirit of their own land; and this music is found in its most characteristic types in the lyric form, abounding in melody, sombre mainly, for the most of the songs are in the minor keys or commencing in major and ending in minor, and rich in the genuine Northern color, the tints of which it is impossible to find in the Southern countries.

Scandinavian music, considered as a school, is of comparatively recent date. Its era is comprised within a century. Prior to that time it had been dominated by foreign influences, but within the past hundred years it has come to its own inheritance. The *Folkesange* have been collected and made public. Berggren was for fifty years an indefatigable collector of *Folkesange* from all nations, and his work published in Copenhagen, 1842, is greatly appreciated in Europe. The national songs, under the influence of a newly-awakened poetical activity, have made their appearance. The national dramas have been musically illustrated. The greatest composers have appeared. Poets and musicians have come into active sympathy, and a rich treasure of song has been the result. More than this, within the past quarter of a century the Scandinavian music has made its way out of the Northern limits and obtained a hearing and favorable judgment in various parts of the world, while some eminent foreign composers have not hesitated to borrow and adapt from it.

In the limited space at command it is only possible to bestow a cursory glance at the composers of Scandinavia and the work they have accomplished. The subject is one that deserves detailed consideration and opens up a tempting field for investigation, but even a hasty sketch may develop much of interest and show the reader that the field is by no means a barren one. In what follows I confine myself to the three principal divisions, Sweden, Denmark, and Norway.

In Sweden, musical genius has exhibited itself

almost exclusively in song melodies, and consequently she does not present such an array of prominent composers as either Denmark or Norway. Among the earliest of her song-writers was Carl M. Bellman (1740-1795), who was both poet and composer, and most famous for his Bellmans-song. He could hardly be considered a distinctive Scandinavian composer, however, as his best songs are set to French melodies. And yet he is considered by many as one of the early troubadours of Sweden, and his songs are very popular among the people, and especially among the students; his quartettes are great favorites even now. A group of three song-writers followed him: Åhlström, Dupuy, and Crusell, of whom the latter is the most important. Then follows a long array of song-writers who clothed the Swedish songs in a characteristic Swedish dress, among them Nordblom, Blidberg, Arlberg, Geyer, Arrhén von Kupffermann, Randel, Wennerberg, Josephson, Södermann, whose quaint setting of the Peasant's Wedding March was first introduced to this country by Theodore Thomas, and has since found its way to every piano in the land; Norman, who also composed chamber music, and with Södermann, was director of the opera in Stockholm; Söderberg, and Lindblad, the latter the best-known of all the Swedish song-writers, largely through the help of Jenny Lind-Goldschmidt, who introduced many of his best songs on her famous tour. It can hardly be said that Sweden has produced great musical geniuses, but her song-writers, especially Lindblad, have shown a faculty in lyric composition which is at once very beautiful and poetical. The latter, indeed, has found many admirers in Europe, and no one more enthusiastic than Mendelssohn. In the matter of genius, perhaps, Berwald should have been excepted. He not only had musical genius, but some of the eccentricities of genius, as he would not allow any of his music to be printed, saying it was only for a select few.

Denmark has been more fortunate and has produced several composers of decided genius, the most prominent of whom are C. E. F. Weyse, Friedrich Kuhlau, Johann Hartmann, and Nils Gade. The first three are regarded as the founders of the Danish school of music; Weyse, the creator of the Danish romance; Kuhlau, whose operatic, chamber, and piano music is now known all over Europe; Hartmann, the writer of the finest Danish national song, "Kong Christian stod ved højen Mast;" and Gade, the most prominent of her living composers. Besides these, there are to be mentioned, I. P. E. Hartmann, son

of Johann, who has written chamber music and operas; Froelich, famous for his ballets; Rung and Hornemann, song-writers, and the latter, the composer of the Danish national song; C. E. Hornemann, some of whose music has been heard in this country; Løvenskjold, a very prolific composer in various styles; Paulii, composer of songs and violin music; Helsted, Saloman, Ree, Siboni, Heise, Berendt, Winding, Glæser, Matthiesson-Hansen, Barnekow, Liebman, Bendix, Berggreen, Zinck, Krossing, Gebauer, and Malling. The four first-mentioned most fitly and completely represent the best types of Danish music. Weyse, as we have said, is regarded as the creator of the Danish romance. Grove's new and excellent *Musical Dictionary* says of him: "Full of romantic feeling and possessing a great gift of melody. The songs from his '*Syngestykker*,' and more especially his '*Ny Danske Melodier*' (set to words by the national lyrists, Ewald, Oehlenschläger, Grundtvig, Heiberg, and Ch. Winther) are justly popular." C. C. Lose and Delbanco, Copenhagen, have published the most of his romances and songs and they are well worth study as charming specimens of native beauty and local color. While Weyse confined himself mainly to songs, Kuhlau wrote much chamber music, pieces for piano, operas, and incidental dramatic music. In the latter vein his music to the "Elverhøi," of Heiberg, a fairy drama immensely popular in Denmark because of its genuine native character, is specially interesting, not alone for its appositeness and beauty, but also because it gives one a glimpse at some of the best of the Danish folk songs. The prelude to the first act, an *Allegretto Pastorale*, is one of the most delicious *morceaux* of instrumentation, in its class, that can be found. Among his operas are the "Robber's Bride," "William Shakespeare," "Lulu," and "Elise." The Danes seem to have been fond of setting Shakespeare to music. Heise has set many of his songs and in a very charming way. Hartmann (Johann) is not only highly admired as a composer of music, but as the head of a family of musicians, hardly less esteemed in Denmark than were the Bachs in Germany. Gade, the last of the four, is the greatest of living Danish composers, and his music has been heard upon every stage. He was born in Copenhagen in 1817, and was the son of a musical instrument maker. He studied in his earlier days with Weyse, Wechshall, and Berggreen, then entered the royal orchestra at Copenhagen as violinist. His "Ossian Overture," which obtained a prize on the recommendation of Spohr and Schneider, secured

for him the royal patronage and a stipend which enabled him to go to Germany and study with Mendelssohn, with whom he was a favorite pupil, being at the same time greatly esteemed by Schumann. So much faith did Mendelssohn have in his abilities that he entrusted him with the conductorship of the Leipsic Gewandhaus concerts which may be considered the post of honor in Europe. More than any other Danish composer, his fame has travelled abroad. He is still living, crowned with honor, as Royal Chapel Master, and known throughout the world by his "Comala," "Zion," "Crusaders," "Psyche," and "Erl King," as well as by his instrumental compositions. In some respects he reminds one of Mendelssohn and Schumann, much to the same degree as does Sterndale Bennett, of England, but in his songs his spirit is peculiarly national. Their music is tinged throughout with the northern tints and is full of grace, tenderness, and beauty, which are its characteristics, rather than largeness and strength.

Norway has not produced many musical composers, but three of them, Kjerulf, Svendsen, and Grieg, may be said to stand in the front rank. Halfdan Kjerulf was the Weyse of Norway. He wrote an immense number of lyrics, some of them of exquisite beauty, such as "*Lokkende Toner*," "*Kärlekspredikan*," "*Ved Sjöen den mörke*," "*Natten paa Fjorden*," "*Mit Hjerte og min Lyre*," "*Saknaden*" and "*Eremiten*." His "*En Brudefærd i Hardanger*," set to the text of Munch, a beautiful edition of which was printed not long since in Christiania, with Norwegian, German, and English text, and richly illustrated, is a great favorite in Norway, but this may be said of all his songs. He was greatly beloved of all the Norwegian people, and his busts and portraits are everywhere to be seen. He was as essentially the song-writer of that country as was Schubert of Germany. Edward Grieg is still in the prime of life and is regarded as a brilliant star upon the musical horizon. He is a child of the North in the full sense of the term. *Le Guide Musical* says of him:

"It was from his mother, a woman of elevated mind and artistic nature, in the best acceptance of the word, that he received, as soon as he was six years old, his first piano-forte lessons. From that period he manifested a remarkable aptitude and a special predilection for music. One day, when still a mere child—he was then nine—he handed his schoolmaster, instead of the exercise which had been given out, an exercise of his own, a composition which he had pompously and naively entitled Op. 1, and which consisted of variations on a German melody. The poor little fellow was soundly scolded by the schoolmaster and sent home.

From that instant his vocation was decided. Some few years later, in 1858, when Ole Bull, the violinist, visited Bergen, Grieg was introduced to him, and Ole Bull, struck by the boy's powers, wisely advised his parents to send him as a student to the Conservatory at Leipsic."

After his return from there in 1863, he went to Copenhagen, where he contracted a warm friendship with Gade. The same authority quoted above says:

"His talent was developed in all its originality, thanks more especially to Richard Nordraak, who sang him his celebrated melodies to Björnson's works. His relations with this man of genius exerted a great influence on his talent. Numerous Scandinavian melodies and characters, Norwegian legends and fables, subjects for operas and symphonies—in a word, an entire new horizon was opened before his eyes, and was a revelation for him."

The early predictions made of the success he would reach, have been fulfilled. He is to-day one of the most brilliant musicians Scandinavia has produced, and one of the most characteristic exponents of the Northern music. Johann Severin Svendsen completes our list. He was born in Christiania, in 1840, of poor parentage, had a natural musical ability, and at a very early age was writing even for the orchestra. His talent was recognized by the government and a stipend was furnished him, which enabled him to go to Leipsic, where he soon ranked among the first pupils of the conservatory. He graduated in 1867, and after travelling in Scandinavia and England, went to Paris where he remained some years. He ranks even now, though comparatively a young man, among the best composers of the age. If he had written nothing but his "Coronation March," which was played at the coronation of King Oscar, and his splendid symphony, "Sigurd Slembe," illustrating the battle on Hafursfiord, that savage fight of King Olaf, the Fair-Haired, for the hand and heart of the beautiful Gyda, he would have been regarded a genius.

Thus much of Scandinavian composers. And what of the Scandinavian artists? Two of them have held the highest rank on the concert and operatic stage during the present generation, and need I say more? Never since the days of Paganini has a violinist's fame travelled so far as that of Ole Bull, that wizard of Norseland, whose magic strains have fascinated thousands of hearers in almost every country on the globe; and who has done so much for the songs of Scandinavia, for the people of Scandinavia, for the fame of Scandinavia. Among all the queens of song, scarce one has had greater triumphs than Christine Nils-

son, even in the most critical capitals of the world. Her career has been one of extraordinary brilliancy, and she is still at the very zenith of her power, though it is now stated she is about to abandon the operatic stage for the loftier and more majestic career of an oratorio singer, in which she has already won many a success.

My sketch would be incomplete without an allusion to an eminent Scandinavian composer in this country, Prof. Asger Hamerik, who, since 1872, has occupied the position of director of the musical department of the Peabody Institute in Baltimore. He is ranked by Mendel's *Musikalisches Lexicon* as among the best of contemporary Danish composers. He has been a prolific writer for chorus and orchestra, and his compositions have been accepted with the highest favor not only in this country but in England and France. The best criticism that can be made of his music is that it satisfies both art and the heart. He worthily represents Scandinavian music in the New World, for although cosmopolitan enough to give his professional attention to the music of all schools, his warmest love goes out to the music of his own land, and through his influence a place has been made for it in the esteem of the American people. His example is one which might well be imitated by all Scandinavian composers, for it is true that so far as they have based themselves upon their national music and kept it free from the influences of the French and German, they have been the most highly esteemed by the world. Svendsen and Grieg are illustrations of this truth. Gade would have been a greater musician to-day had he not been weighted down with the style of Mendelssohn and Schumann. The music of Scandinavia will not bear mixture with any other. It would be as consistent to give a Gipsy Czarda or a Chopin polonaise another national color.

GEO. P. UPTON.

#### THE EXPEDITION OF SWEDES TO DELAWARE UNDER GOVERNOR PRINTZ.

In 1639, the ship *Kalmars Nyckel*, which had suffered damages at sea, was repaired and equipped in Holland, with the view of despatching a second Swedish colony to America. Cornelis Van Vliet, a Dutch captain, who had been for some time in the Swedish service, was selected as a man well qualified to take command of the vessel; but upon his appointment, there arose an unexpected difficulty in obtaining emigrants. This was supposed to be due to the fact that the long and, at that

time, dangerous voyage, antecedent to settlement in a country inhabited by savages, presented inadequate attractions. But there seems to have existed, from the first, a personal prejudice against Van Vliet, which, as was eventually proved, was not without grounds. No one volunteered to accompany him, and it was at last found necessary to make a draught upon such married soldiers as had evaded service, and others, guilty of civil offences, together with their wives and children. Thus provided with emigrants, the perplexity of raising funds presented itself, the country having been drained of its resources by wars. But at this juncture, Blommaert and Spiring, with their customary zeal, came forward, and advanced the requisite means. The *Kalmars Nyckel* was accordingly equipped, and provided with another crew, concerning whom little is known. The governor appointed to accompany this expedition, as successor to Menewe, was Peter Hollendare, who signs himself *Ridder* (knight). Having thus far vanquished her obstacles, the *Kalmars Nyckel* left Gothenburg in the autumn of 1639, destined, however, to meet with still further discouragements. Upon entering the North Sea, she sprang a leak, and was obliged to put into Medemblik for repairs; again she started, only to encounter fresh disasters, until the growing dissatisfaction with both crew and vessel was vehemently expressed. Van Vliet was accused of dishonesty in victualling the ship, and was convicted of the charge, upon the examination which was immediately ordered by Blommaert. Mr. Spiring thereupon commanded Van Vliet's discharge, and appointed Pouwel Jansen (probably Dutch) in his place, a new crew also having been hired. But continued misfortunes beset them at sea, and it was not until February 7, 1640, that the *Kalmars Nyckel* made her successful effort to sail from the Texel. At this point, the name of Blommaert, so distinguished in the records of the earliest expedition, disappears from the current chronicles; and it is supposed that he either died, or retired from the Swedish service, the former supposition being the more credible.

Hollandare's colony landed at Christina, April 17, 1640, a little more than two months after leaving the Texel. They found the settlement left by Menewe in good condition (Kieft's letters being the only authority to the contrary), but, for want of an executive head, and having heard nothing from home, they appear to have entertained doubts, at this period, as to the expediency of trying to maintain their national independence.



It is probable that they would have allied themselves to the interests of the Dutch, had it not been for Hollendare's arrival. Professor Odhner, who has prosecuted the search with much zest, declares that he has been unable to discover any record as to the way in which Menewe's colony occupied their time after his departure, with the exception of a partially destroyed *Schuldt Boeck*, kept by Henrik Huyghen, from the year 1638, the contents of which are meagre, and afford little information. Concerning the people whom Hollendare found upon his arrival, and whom he himself took with him, he says in a letter to the chancellor: "No more stupid or indifferent people are to be found in all Sweden than those who are now here." He appears to have encountered the opposition of Måns Kling, whose rough experience had taught him the impracticability of certain theories advanced by Hollendare for dealing with the Dutch, and who may have found subordination to a novice in these matters hard to brook. Hollendare purchased land of the Indians for a distance of eight or nine Swedish miles above Fort Christina, erecting three pillars for a boundary. (These continually renewed purchases of land from the Indians remind one of the American child-expression, "Indian-giver," meaning one who presents a gift, and then takes it back.) Incipient protests were made, from time to time, by the Dutch, but none of serious consequence. About this time, the Swedes also purchased of the Indians a considerable tract of land on the east side of the river, having already bought, as has been stated, their territory on the west side. According to Hazard's Annals, a general sickliness prevailed among both Swedes and Dutch, during Hollendare's administration, and it was deemed expedient to take measures at once for the strengthening of the colony.

In May, 1640, therefore, Måns Kling was sent to Sweden in the *Kalmars Nyckel*, for the purpose of laying before the government the necessities of the settlement; and in May, 1641, Kling left Stockholm in the *Charitas*, a vessel which had been prepared at the above place, at a cost of about thirty-five thousand florins. He took with him a company of mining-people and "roaming Finns," the latter being a race inhabiting the Swedish forests. They numbered thirty-two persons, four of whom were criminals, the remainder going either as servants to the company, or to better their condition.\* Måns Kling was

accompanied by his wife, a maid, and a little child. He was appointed to serve as lieutenant on the pay of forty *riks-daler* a month, beginning May 1, 1641, and was also granted by Clas Fleming, as a present, fifty *riks-daler* expectancy money. Sailing from Stockholm, Kling repaired to Gothenburg, where he was joined by the *Kalmars Nyckel*, and (probably) other emigrants. The two vessels left Sweden, in 1641, constituting the third expedition to the Delaware. Soon after their arrival at Christina, a new company, under the name of the West India or American Company, was formed,\* and it was decided that the crown should pay the salaries of a governor and such other officers as might be needed for the advancement of the colony. Hollendare's last letter to the chancellor† was dated December 3, 1640, and little more than the writer has stated is known of his administration.‡

The fourth expedition, under Governor Printz, proved to be the largest, and in point of numbers, the most important of the expeditions sent to Delaware. The chief personages who took part in it were the governor, his wife, and daughter Armgott, the Rev. Johan Campanius (Holm), and Måns Kling,§ who had returned to Sweden, in 1641. Johan Printz, Lieutenant-colonel in the Swedish army, was appointed Governor of Delaware, August 15, 1642. He was granted four hundred *riks-daler* for travelling expenses, and two hundred dollars silver for his annual salary,|| to commence January 1, 1643. His "Instructions"¶ were dated at Stockholm, August 15, 1642; and on the 30th of the same month, "a budget for the government of New Sweden" was adopted. Herein are mentioned a lieutenant, a sergeant, a corporal, a gunner, a trumpeter, besides twenty-four private soldiers; also, in the civil list, a preacher (Campanius), a clerk (Knut Persson), a surgeon, a provost (Johan Olafsson), and a hangman, the whole estimate of salaries amounting to three thousand and twenty *riks-daler*. The Company's "serv-

\*See Pennsylvania Magazine, vol. iii, No. 4, pp. 407-8.

†Oxenstierna Papers. Swedish Archives.

‡I am chiefly indebted to Prof. Keen's translations of Odhner's History (published in the Pennsylvania Magazine) for information concerning this very obscure period of the early Swedish expeditions to the Delaware.

§The names of other emigrants may be found in a note to Odhner's Founding of New Sweden. Pennsylvania Magazine, vol. iii, No. 4, pp. 409-10.

||Acrelius. p. 29.

¶For Instructions in full, see Acrelius pp. 30 to 40 inclusive. For his Commission, see M. S. Documents of American Philosophical Society, Reg. of Penn., vol. iv, p. 200.

\*Odhner. A circumstantial list of these early colonists may be found in the Pennsylvania Magazine, vol. iii, No. 4, p. 402.

ants," and those who went to improve their condition, were called freemen; while the malefactors were retained in slavery, and occupied ground appropriated for them, there being no intercourse between the two classes. According to Campanius, it had proved greatly to the detriment of the colony for criminals to be permitted to share in its advantages, and the embarkation, for this purpose, of any person of bad reputation was forbidden in Sweden. Such as had already come out were also required to return, many of whom died at sea. The official "Instructions" directed Printz to go to Gothenburg by land, as being more expeditious. Whether he did so, or whether he went in the ship *Fama*, which sailed from Stockholm and was joined at Gothenburg by *Svanen* and (according to Acrelius) the *Charitas*, is uncertain. He was instructed to be governed by the skippers and officers of the ships, as to the course he should take; whether "to the north of Scotland, or through the channel between France and England." According to Acrelius, and other authorities, he sailed south. The expedition left Gothenburg November 1, 1642,\* and arrived at Christina, February 15, 1643. The first official report sent by Printz from New Sweden is lost, but in a private letter to the chancellor, dated April 14, 1643, he says: "It is a remarkably fine land, with all excellent qualities a man can possibly desire on earth." Yet, during this first year, there was great mortality among the Swedes, which Printz, in his Report for 1647,† attributes to hard work and insufficient food; for upon receiving board and wages, they did well enough. In this year, on the 7th of September, Reorus Torkillus, the clergyman who accompanied Menewe, died at Christina. In this year also, came Johan Papegäja, with a letter to the governor, recommending his "employment, protection, and advancement." He afterwards married the governor's daughter Armgott, a haughty lady, who exercised a tyrannous disposition over the Swedes. On the 6th of November, 1643, Queen Christina granted Tinicum Island‡ to Printz, and here he established his residence. His mansion, which he named "Printz Hall," is said to have been "very handsome." Adjacent to it were an orchard and a pleasure house; and here also, Fort Gothenburg was erected,

the whole island being frequently spoken of as New Gothenburg.

While the governor's arbitrary temper rendered him, in time, odious to the people, his executive ability must command the highest praise. Neither Menewe nor Hollendare had done more than to break the roughest ground of the enterprise, and it remained for their successor systematically to establish means for the permanent protection of the new settlement, Fort Christina having been repaired, and Fort Gothenburg completed. Of the forts projected and finished by Printz, the following are the chief:

(1) Elfsborg. This was on the eastern shore of the river, about two miles below Christina. It was usually garrisoned by twelve men, commanded by a lieutenant, and had eight iron and brass guns.\* At this point of vantage, Printz is said to have exercised great authority over the Dutch, whose movements were thus worried and frustrated by him. The statement of most historians that he weighed, at this time, upwards of four hundred pounds, is regarded by Hazard as a mistake, and probably refers to a relative of the governor's. Certainly, were it Printz himself, the active duties of a soldier must soon have reduced the formidable bulk. Although Elfsborg was considered a very valuable site, it became uninhabitable on account of the mosquitoes which infest New Jersey, and was soon abandoned.

(2) Manajunk. This was a "handsome" little fort on the Schuylkill. It was made of logs, filled up with sand and stones, and surrounded by palisades cut very sharp at the top. It was mounted with great guns.†

(3) Korsholm. This fort was at Passajunk, in the neighborhood of Chinsessing, and was commanded by Swen Schute. On the other side of it was a substantial house called Wasa,‡ built of hickory, and two stories high. It was defended by freemen, although not strictly a fort. About a quarter of a mile farther up, on the "Minquas Road," Printz built a similar strong house, and also the first mill in Delaware, calling the place Mëndal. Private residences and plantations rapidly sprang up, centering chiefly upon Tinicum Island. The place of Olaf Stillé, a Swede who was much beloved by the Indians, is indicated on Lindström's map, and was probably on the Schuylkill, southwest of Philadelphia. From him is

\* Concerning the voyage, see account inserted in Campanius' History of New Sweden.

† Prof. Keen's translation of this Report, together with the chancellor's reply, are found in the Pennsylvania Magazine, vol. vii, No. 3, pp. 271-285 inclusive.

‡ For the exact location, see Ferris, pp. 70-71.

\* See Hudde, p. 429.

† Campanius, p. 80.

‡ See Official Report for 1647, Pennsylvania Magazine, vol. vii No. 3, p. 274.

descended Provost Stillé, of the University of Pennsylvania, the name being one of the very few which remain uncorrupted. Thus the colony was strengthened and enabled to control the Indian trade of the Schuylkill. That Printz was not always scrupulous in his methods of gaining an end is certain, but that he endeavored to serve his country in the best way compatible with his vindictive and ambitious temperament must be conceded. This much may at least be said of him. He was the first real pioneer which the State of Delaware had seen, and upon his retiring from the service the prosperity of the colony steadily declined.

The Indian policy pursued by the Swedes, in accordance with the instructions given to Printz, cannot be over-estimated. The important paragraph contained in Article 9 has already been quoted.\* Article 5 reads: "The governor, God willing, having arrived in New Sweden, he must, for his better information, bear in mind that the boundaries of which our subjects have taken possession, *in virtue of the articles of contract entered into with the wild inhabitants of the country, as its rightful lords*, extend," etc., etc. That this policy, steadily pursued by the Swedes, and afterward imitated by Penn, was ever abandoned by the American nation, remains a lasting shame. In the financial burden and the moral obloquy attaching to our Indian Bureau, we have the legitimate fruits of the course we have pursued.

In the year 1644, the ship *Fama* returned to Sweden with a cargo, which we give in Printz's own words:† "One thousand three hundred whole beavers, 299 half beavers, 537 third parts of beavers; great and small together, 2,139 beavers; again, tobacco, 20,467 pounds (Swedish), in 77 hogsheads; again, my own tobacco—which partly I received in payment from foreigners and partly I planted myself—7,200 pounds, in 28 hogsheads, sent home to the shareholders in Sweden, that they may either reimburse me at 8 *styfver* per pound, or graciously allow me to sell it elsewhere." On the 25th of November, 1645, a great calamity befell the colony, which may best be described in the governor's words: "Between ten and eleven o'clock, one Swen Wass, a gunner, set Fort New Gothenburg on fire; in a short time all was lamentably burnt down, and not the least thing saved except the dairy. The people escaped, naked and

destitute. The winter immediately set in, bitterly cold" (as cold, he says elsewhere, as he had ever experienced in northern Sweden). "The rivers and all the creeks froze up, and nobody was able to get near us (because New Gothenburg is surrounded by water). The sharpness of the winter lasted until the middle of March; so that if some rye and corn had not been unthrashed, I myself, and all the people with me, would have starved to death. But God maintained us with that small quantity of provision until the new harvest. By this sad accident the loss of the company is 4,000 *riks-daler*."\* His personal loss was estimated at 5,584 *riks-daler*. Whether his own house were destroyed I am unable to discover. According to his own account it would be inferred that it was, while Ferris states that it remained standing for more than one hundred and twenty years, "when it was accidentally destroyed by fire." What might have been the motive of Swen Wass for committing such a deed can only be surmised. He was sent home in irons and remanded to the Swedish government for justice. The buildings were reconstructed as soon as possible.

On the 1st of October, 1646, the Swedish ship *Haij* (sometimes called *The Golden Shark*) arrived, bringing the first news from home that had been received in two years and four months.† She was sent back in the following February with a cargo of "24,177 pounds of tobacco, the whole in 101 casks, of which 6,920 pounds were planted in New Sweden, 17,257 pounds were purchased." The governor and other officers of the colony had received instructions to draw their salaries from the duties on tobacco,‡ but as the revenues from this product had not been large, it was found necessary for them to obtain their subsistence from other sources.¶ It was probably with regard to this period that Stuyvesant wrote to the commissary at the Delaware River: "The Swedish governor receives no succor, nor has he to expect any for the present, as I have been informed, trustworthily."¶ During the year 1646, violent altercations with the Dutch occurred, and, according to Acrelius, the arms of Holland, which had been erected at Santickan, were torn down by the Swedes. In this year also, a wooden church, decorated in Swedish fashion, and situated on Tini-

\* Report for 1647.

† Report for 1647.

‡ MSS. in possession of Library of University of Upsala.

§ Colonial Documents of New York, vol. xii, p. 54.

¶ Colonial Documents of New York, vol. xii.

\* The first Swedish settlement in America.—*Scandinavia*, March, 1884.

† See Printz's Report for 1647, *Pennsylvania Magazine*, vol. vii., No. 3, p. 271.

cum Island, was consecrated, September 4, by the Rev. Johan Campanius.

Concerning the year 1647, we obtain an inferential account from Printz's Report, dated February 20th of that year, and sent to the chancellor with Johan Papegāja. The entire number of souls in the colony at that time was one hundred and eighty-three. The quarrels between the Dutch and the Swedes had continued, and Printz writes with exasperation: "It is of the utmost necessity for us to drive the Dutch from the river, for they oppose us on every side. (1.) They destroy our trade everywhere. (2.) They strengthen the savages with guns, shot, and powder, publicly trading with these, against the edict of all Christians.\* (3.) They stir up the savages against us, who, but for our prudence, would already have gone too far. (4.) They begin to buy land from the savages, within our boundaries, which we had purchased already eight years ago, and have the impudence in several places to erect the arms of the West India Company, calling them their arms; moreover, they give New Sweden the name of New Netherland, and dare to build their houses there."† Hudde declares that when he sought to present the earlier claims of the Dutch, the governor replied that "the devil was the oldest possessor of hell, but that he sometimes admitted a younger one." As to the English, the Report says, "I have at last been able, with the authority of Her Majesty, to drive them from hence." In the same Report, he announces, that the trade has declined, and that some of the most useful members of the colony have intimated their wish to return home; among others, Henrik Huyghen, whose services were very valuable, and the clergyman, Campanius. He himself begs to be released from his post, and to return to Sweden, in the next ship. The chancellor's reply‡ is to the effect that Printz could not yet be spared, and that it would be advisable to raise the salary of Campanius, as an inducement for him to remain. In this year, the *Seanen* arrived with goods from home, although the chancellor had been unable to fulfil all of the governor's requests thus soon. The reply of the chancellor was brought back by Lieutenant Johan Papegāja.

The year 1649 recorded the murder of two Swedes by the Indians, the first occurrence of the

kind that had been chronicled. As a rule, the relations of the savages with the Swedes were of the most friendly nature, although Printz complained at times that when the latter no longer had what the Indians wanted, they were liable to trouble with them, there being, apparently, no other mode of expressing amity. Campanius gives a quaint account of an Indian council, called to discuss the advisability of destroying the Swedes, who no longer had "cloth, blue, red, or brown"; nor "kettles, brass, lead, guns, nor powder." The verdict, however was, that "We, native Indians, will love the Swedes, and the Swedes shall be our good friends. \* \* \* We shall not make war upon them and destroy them. This is fixed and certain. Take care to observe it."\* The same writer accords to Printz "a complete suit of clothes, with coat, breeches, and belt, made by these barbarians, with their wampum, curiously wrought with the figures of all kinds of animals"—the extravagant cost being "some thousand pieces of gold." For the next two or three years, the struggle between Swedes and Dutch for supremacy, was a pretty even matter, the declining strength of the Swedes being supplied by reinforced aggressiveness, while the Dutch remained superior in numbers.

In 1651, the Dutch built Fort Cassimer (now New Castle, Delaware), against which Printz protested without effect. The name of the fort was a singular selection, inasmuch as it is Swedish rather than Dutch. The governor's desire to return to Sweden had been steadily increasing, and he renewed his appeal to be recalled. The colony was degenerating, less because of the relaxation of Printz's efforts than on account of the insufficient response from home. Clas Fleming had died in 1644, and his successor had not been appointed. Queen Christina, contemplating the abdication of her throne, and inheriting none of her father's love for the enterprise, manifested little interest in the welfare of the colony. In Stuyvesant, Printz had found his match for love of power and unyielding determination. Under his administration, the strength of the Dutch was augmented, and, impatient at the delay of the government in recalling him from a situation which was becoming highly perplexing, Printz sailed for home before the arrival of his order to return, which was dated December 12, 1653. He left his administration in the hands of his son-in-law, Lieutenant Papegāja, who, from prolonged resi-

\* Printz is accused of having done the same thing. Albany Records, vol. iii, page 248.

† See Keen's translation of the Report.

‡ See Keen's Translation, Pennsylvania Magazine, vol. vii, No. 3, page 281.

\* See Campanius, pages 153-6.



dence there, must have been familiar with the requirements of the office. Some of the colonists applied to Stuyvesant for permission to come under the jurisdiction and protection of the West India Company, a request which, for reasons political, was not granted. Upon his return to Sweden, Printz was made a general, and in 1658, he was appointed Governor of the district of Jönköping. He died in 1663. Johan Papegäja, Vice-Governor of Delaware for a period of about eighteen months, was succeeded by Johan Claudius Rising, in 1654.

EMMA SHERWOOD CHESTER.

#### BISHOP GRUNDTVIG AND THE PEASANT HIGH-SCHOOL.

(Conclusion.)

During Grundtvig's absence, a considerable change in the religious atmosphere had taken place. People grew tired of the dry rationalistic preaching and the frivolity accompanying it; they began to long for piety and food for their spirits, as well as for their bodies. Lindberg, his former co-worker, had introduced free religious meetings. At first Grundtvig did not approve thereof, because they were against the law. He went to the state minister of cult and asked for a church in which to preach to an independent audience. No—it could not be permitted. Then some of his friends supplicated the king to allow them to form an independent congregation with Grundtvig as their teacher. No—it could not be permitted. The following Sunday, Grundtvig went to the private house of his friend Lindberg, and preached there from the text, "It is good for us to be here: if thou wilt, I will make here three tabernacles." But the audience soon increased, so that he was obliged to rent a large loft for his meeting-place. But when it was known that many gathered to hear the audacious preacher, the authorities summoned Grundtvig and his friends to a public examination. He was forbidden to preach as long as he was not admitted by the bishop. Grundtvig went to the bishop, an old learned friend of his, T. C. Müller. Grundtvig found him very angry and excited, but after an hour's conversation he grew calmer, and, at last, he recommended the king to allow Grundtvig the use of Fredrik's Church for free afternoon's service, though without permission to administer the sacraments. Now the ice was broken. In the very heart of the state church, a little free congregation had built its nest. For

seven years and a half Grundtvig kept the position of a free minister, struggling with poverty, but still happy, because he could preach the word of God without any restraint. In this period of his life falls the publication of three of his chief works: a new and revised edition of his "Norse Mythology"; his "History of the World," in three volumes; and his "Hymn Collection"—all of them greatly influencing the mental life of Scandinavia. At this time he also began to advocate a greater dogmatic and liturgical liberty for the ministers inside of the state church, and a greater liberty for the members of the congregation to join the minister and the church satisfying their soul. He also cast his eyes on the spiritless condition of the schools. He had asked the government for permission to found a school according to his own principles, but his application was refused. Now, his sons were of the age to be confirmed. Confirmation was then commanded by law as a public duty. He applied to the king for permission to teach and confirm his own children. No, he could not get that permission. Everywhere stones in his way! But he did not despair. There is a poor-house in Copenhagen, called Vartov, and a church connected with it. That pulpit now became vacant, and the king let him secretly know that he should get it, if he would apply. What to do? If he took it, he would be able to confirm his own and his friends' children; he would be allowed to administer the sacraments; but on the other side, he became a minister of the state church, and would get Bishop Mynster, his old enemy, as a superior. It is told of this Bishop Mynster that, when some one wondered how Grundtvig could afford to sell his small collection of hymns for three cents a piece, the bishop answered: "T is because they are not worth four cents." This same bishop published a hymn-book, containing only one of Grundtvig's hymns. When it was remarked to Grundtvig, that the bishop had taken at least one of his hymns, he answered, "Yes, but he has given as its tune: 'Oh, Lord! I have acted badly!'"

The love of his children and friends overcame all Grundtvig's scruples. He went to the king.

"Will your majesty give me hope for sure?" he asked.

"I never give any hope," the king said.

"Well, then I will *not* apply," Grundtvig answered. "I am too old, now, to be treated like a fool."

"Give *me* your application," the king said.

And thus Grundtvig was called as minister to

the Vartov church, the twenty-eighth of May, 1839. Though the income was very small, he renounced immediately the three hundred dollars he till that date had drawn from the public fund.

If his enemies rejoiced in thinking that Grundtvig now had found the right place to expound his ideas, namely: for some poor old women, verging on the state of childhood, they were mistaken. That small church, in Vartov, became a centre of a powerful movement, and was filled with a God-seeking, inspired audience every Sunday. For thirty-three years Grundtvig stood there as a minister, and exercised by his word and pen a widespread influence all over Denmark; yes, over the whole of Scandinavia, in political, in social, in scientific, in church and school questions. With open hand he scattered his seed, and the man who some years ago stood despairing and alone, mocked and ridiculed, saw now green and abundant fields.

He got the badge of knighthood and the title of bishop; he was ten times elected a member of the parliament. He did not there carry many of his propositions through, because they were always found to be too radical. Still he had the satisfaction to see his idea of loosening the parish-tie become a law, April 4, 1855, so that people were allowed to join any minister they liked, and were not compelled to belong to that congregation in whose neighborhood they, by chance, had settled.

During Denmark's unhappy struggle with Germany, he tried all he could to preserve Slesvick as a part of Denmark. But his largest political influence he exerted as one of the leaders of the Scandinavian movement. It had for a long time been one of his favorite ideas, that the three Norse countries, Norway, Sweden, and Denmark, should be united in some way, forming a barrier against the Prussian kingdom, which had cast eager eyes on the small Danish country. This idea had found its most powerful expression through the excursions made by the students of one country to the students of the other, and at these meetings many weighty and powerful words were spoken by the most prominent men of the three brotherlands. I, myself, attended such a meeting in the year 1862, when the Swedish and Norwegian students met at Copenhagen, and I shall never forget it. As we marched along the old historic streets, with our flowing standards, and singing our national hymns, and were quite buried beneath flowers, drooping upon us from the multitude filling windows and roofs, exulting and jubilating, then

I felt that there was earnestness about it, and I was nearly bursting into tears. On that occasion I was invited to dinner at Grundtvig's house, and I saw him for the first time. I shall never forget when he rose dignified, with his white apostolic beard flowing on his breast, and spoke: "I have been waiting for this blessed hour, when I should see representatives from all the Scandinavian lands gathered round my table."

These meetings of Scandinavian students have not yet resulted in any political union of the three countries, but they have produced a friendly sentiment, an exchange of ideas, and a mental co-operation of the leading men of the nations, that cannot be over-estimated. The pitiful disappointment of the year 1864, when the Swedish and Norwegian soldiers did not appear on the battlefield, and when Denmark lost one of her best provinces, put an end to those meetings. The students have tried to revive them, but it will not do; the spirit has left them, and Denmark's wounds are still bleeding.

His influence as a teacher in history Grundtvig maintained by his books and his public lectures in 1838 and 1843-44. The opinion was, that such thrilling lectures had not been heard in Copenhagen since the times of Henrik Steffens.

But the greatest influence he has exercised as a minister of the Gospel. His peculiar religious views were laughed at, and his friends were called by the nickname of *Grundtvigianere*, but still they have increased, and a great number of the Danish ministers share his views, and, I dare say, the best part of them. During his fight with Professor Clausen he distinctly saw that it is "a quite hollow superstition to believe that pure and original Christianity should be found in a book, which did not exist from the beginning, and which in all regards was an apple of discord." But where to take the starting point? Grundtvig took it in baptism. In all times baptism has been the entrance gate of Christianity, and therefore you must there find the conditions on which to be saved. And you will find there the three articles of the "Apostles' Creed." On these three articles the covenant is made between you and God, your Father, sealed by the baptismal water. It is therefore of no use to drag common people into theological controversies and discussions about passages of the Scriptures, only keep them to the plain truths of the "Apostles' Creed." Jesus Christ himself instituted baptism; Jesus Christ must therefore have told to his apostles the conditions of baptism, or, what is the same, the conditions of salvation.

And this is what Grundtvig himself calls his matchless discovery, that the "Apostles' Creed" is a word from the mouth of Jesus Christ himself, committed to his apostles in the forty days between his resurrection and ascension. And when you prove in a historical way that this is not so, that some of the links—for instance, "descended into Hell," in the second article, and "the resurrection of the body," in the third article—are added later, then Grundtvig replies: "You may prove that ever so many Christian societies have been unfaithful and changed the words of the Christian covenant, but you can never prove that there has been a time when *all* Christian societies have done so. God will watch above, that his pure truth will be preserved at least in one little circle of his friends, and this little circle will leaven the whole dough at due time." Such reasoning cuts off all discussion. Toward all Christian societies which sign the "Apostles' Creed," Grundtvig is very tolerant, but those who will not bend to this he persecutes. He writes so: "Whosoever denies the least of the Christian faith (included in the "Apostles' Creed") or denies the necessity of baptism and the saving power of both of them, he is to me an un-Christian, whatever name he gives himself. And whosoever utters contempt for the Holy Supper, the Service of God, or the Holy Scripture, he is to me a separatist, with whom I will not share any brotherhood." We Unitarians would then of course not find grace in his eyes.

Another peculiarity which makes him approach the liberal Christians of our days is his conception of the image of God in man. He denies total depravity; the image of God is not lost, he says, else the man had no arms with which to receive the grace of God. The remains of the broken image of God in man is the soil, where God can sow his seed, and from which salvation grows for mankind. This belief has given to the Gospel of him and his friends more joy, more hope, more faith in humanity, than you will find in other orthodox societies. His enemies have also ridiculed his movement by calling it "the merry Christendom." Sure is it that the followers of Grundtvig have brought with them more life, more joy, more human feelings, more inspiring vigor, than any of the other church organizations. The ministers of that section mingle more than usually with their congregations, try to get up associations of the young, and to bring their parishioners to take interest in all burning questions of the day, in all efforts to advance their parish and their country.

Grundtvig's friend and successor in the Vartov pulpit, Rev. Brandt, says: "Grundtvig's catechism is written in three small paragraphs: (1) Spirit is power; (2) Spirit reveals itself only in the *word*; (3) Spirit works only in liberty."

In the last years of Grundtvig's life his friends from all the Scandinavian countries used to gather together in Copenhagen on his birthday and hold meetings, with sermons, speeches, and singing of hymns. I myself attended such a meeting, and I reckon it as one of the happy remembrances of my life. In the immense hall were gathered together about three thousand, among whom were several hundred ministers. And when all of them with jubilating voice struck up the beautiful hymns of the venerable old prophet and poet, then I was moved to tears of joy. It is an old word, that the devils tremble when they hear the children of men singing God's praise, and I am sure they trembled that day; it was as if the walls quivered with the strong resounding.

Grundtvig deserves gratitude for his hymn-poetry and church-songs. He has written himself more than four hundred hymns, I presume, the larger number of which being of exceeding beauty. Besides Kingo and Brorson, he is the star of the Danish hymn-poets, and, I think, superior to all of them. He has also the merit of preserving from oblivion many lovely folk-melodies and making them attractive by writing hymns to them. I am told that Grundtvig very often, when he passed along the streets and heard a fine melody accompanied by undecent words, exclaimed: "That tune is too sweet to be stained by such words." Then he went home and wrote a hymn to that melody, and asked his congregation to sing it.

Grundtvig had a singular ability to grasp the situation and give it a striking expression in his sermons. One Sunday when he went to church the sad message came that the last bulwark of Slesvick's freedom had fallen; the island Als was taken. Having ascended his pulpit he tried several times to speak, but was unable; his voice became choked with emotion. Then he quietly said: "Friends! we have got to-day sad tidings, and we need more than ever to humble us before God and take our refuge under His protecting hands,—let us take the Holy Communion together." And with these words he stepped down from the pulpit, went to the altar, and reached the holy bread and wine toward the congregation. And with sobbing and tears, old and young, men and women, thronged round the altar where the old man stood with tears flowing down his cheeks offering them the sign of

communion with Jesus Christ. None of them, I am sure, will forget that day and that service.

Besides the influence Grundtvig exercised on the growing-up generation as a minister of the Gospel, there remains still a monument to him,—perhaps the most important and lasting of them all—I mean the peasant high-school.

During his youth he perceived how very little was done for the education of the peasants and the laboring classes. How could they be expected to have love of freedom and fatherland, to take interest in the burning questions of the day, to be useful citizens partaking in the discussions of the welfare of the state, when they only had the choice between being content with the poor common school where the larger part of the day was spent in hammering into the children the Lutheran dogmas, and the expensive Latin school, which would separate them entirely from their parents, their habits, and common work, and lift them into the aristocratic body of the classic learned men!

Grundtvig, though a thorough scholar himself, did not think much of the Latin language, at least not as the foundation stone of the higher education for Northern boys and girls. He always uses very harsh words against Rome—that bird of prey with beak and talons of iron, whose history all through is a history of oppression and tyranny, and which has taught the proud Teutonic race to forget their own nationality and try to be apes imitating foreign customs and to worship their oppressors. In the southern countries, in France, Spain, Italy, whose languages are daughters of the old Latin, *there* it is all right, that the Latin language and literature shall be the corner-stone of the higher education; but for the same reason we Northern nations have to restore our own old tongues and literature instead of the Latin. And we Scandinavians at least have a language so developed and a literature so strong and pure, that it fully competes with the corrupted odes of Horace or the licentious poems of Ovid. The Latin education has brought young people to look with contempt upon their own; has helped to build up an aristocracy which has done much harm to all democratic progress. You cannot reasonably invite common people who wish to continue the work of their fathers as peasants or mechanics and who yet long for learning, to wear out, for six and seven years, your Latin school benches. No! Let us have schools for the common people where they can learn to love fatherland, freedom, and the progress of their country!

Such was the course of reasoning which created the peasant high-school.

Grundtvig's scheme of education is as follows: In childhood you have to go through the common school and learn all the elementary instruction. When you are fourteen and fifteen, the age where the growth of your body absorbs all other functions, when the boy becomes a man and the girl a woman, then leave the school and learn a trade, or work with your hands in one way or another. When this ripening process is over, then it is the duty of the school to take you once more, but in another way, addressing you as a grown-up youth. The dreaming period of our life, when youthful vigor swells in our veins, when we are longing for something, but do not exactly know what, is a very dangerous time. That is the sowing time of good or evil. Therefore it is the intention of the peasant high-school to take the young in that period and direct their attention upon noble aims. The means which this sort of school uses for that purpose, is to tell the pupils in a lively and popular way, by lectures, about all the remarkable men and women and inventions and progress of culture in the world, especially about their own ancestors and their modes of living and thinking; it tells them about the burning questions of the day, and teaches them to know their celebrated contemporaries; it tells them how it looks in other countries (geography); it reads with them and teaches them to love and understand their own poets. As steady lecture would be too exhausting for the young mind, this method of teaching is interrupted by grammatical exercises, by arithmetics, by sewing, for the girls, and by song. To teach them beautiful hymns and patriotic songs and ditties dear to the people, is one of the chief works of the peasant high-school, because song lightens the burden of heavy labor and fills the soul and the home with beauty and happiness.

As the peasant boys and girls have not much time to spend, a course is set to six months. Usually, boys attend school during the winter, girls during the summer. From this plan it may be concluded that such schools do not at all put stress on the teaching of realities as much as on the impulse given. They wish to stir up the slumbering faculties of the youth, direct their minds to noble, inspiring aims, and help them to understand their time and to be eager for their own self-education. This has often been forgotten, and people have accused these schools of being humbugs and only tending to make the young people proud and windy. I myself have been a teacher at such a



school for sixteen years, and I have seen so much blessing in it, that I do not doubt. The hope of these schools rests as much upon the converse between the pupils as on the instruction given. As many as the school-buildings have room for live there, or else in the private houses of the teachers; and many of my former pupils have told me, that they have learned as much by the conversations and discussions there as by the teaching at school. There, at their rooms, among their comrades, they repeat what they have listened to during the day, correct and assist each other's memory. And the life, free from the accustomed heavy labors, surrounded by new thoughts among young men from all parts of the country, borne of song and love, cannot otherwise than spread a sunshine over these six short months, that warms them for life.

It was Grundtvig's dream, besides these high-schools for common people, to have a sort of university, based on the same plan, where young people who wished still more education and could afford to spend more time on it could be satisfied. The pupils of the high-school should then be allowed to commence at the university without further examination. This thought is still an ideal.

The first high-school for common people on Grundtvig's plan was established in 1844, in Slesvick, as a guard against the German influence. It was destroyed at the conquest of this old Danish province. But when Grundtvig was seventy years of age, his Danish and Norwegian friends had collected money enough to buy a property called Marielyst, in the neighborhood of the capital and presented it to him for a high-school. That was his greatest pleasure every fall to reopen it for a new course. Now the high-schools are spread all over the country, and have been important means to awake a love of fatherland and stir up the Danish common people to spiritual interests. They have spread their roots under the sea and ramified in Norway and Sweden. They have caused attention in Germany and France, and will in time go all over the world.

Grundtvig enjoyed good health. In later years he received a wound on one of his legs, and when that wound kept open he felt well; when it sometimes closed, the disease went to the brain, and he became insane for periods. This happened several times, and caused great anxiety among his friends; but during his mental derangement he very often uttered genial, though wild and weird, ideas.

At the meeting of friends in 1871, he said: "I shall die, but the Lord will be with you." He lived still one year, and the friends were invited to

another meeting on the tenth of September, 1872. On Sunday, the first of September, the eighty-nine years old man preached his regular sermon, and with a voice so strong that people were able to hear him in the remotest corner of the church. The next day his wife read to him till three o'clock in the afternoon; then he said he would take a little nap, and leaned his head back on the chair. But when she returned, he still slept—slept never to waken more in this world. It proved true, what he in a beautiful poem of the church bell had prophesied: "Thou church bell, when thou at last chimest for my dust, though it does not hear you, tell all my dear ones, that they may feel happy." He fell asleep as the sun sets in autumn.

Grundtvig was buried on the eleventh of September. His funeral was a mourning-festival of the whole country. The floor in the largest church in the capital was covered with flowers. Wreaths of all kinds, some of them sent from Norway and the lost province of Slesvick, were wound round the coffin. The whole church was transformed into a garden of plants and flowers. Two or three hundred ministers were present, among them his old enemy, Professor Clausen. The students of the university had met with mourning crape around their banners. His favorite hymns were sung, and his best friends spoke to his memory. When the funeral train at last moved out from the church, it could scarcely pass through the crowd. All the streets were filled with people, the windows, the roofs of the buildings were black with spectators. The vessels in the harbor had hoisted mourning flags. As the procession passed his own dear church, Vartov, the organ played, and the whole immense crowd joined in singing, "Christ is risen from the dead." Who would twenty years before have said that this man should be followed to his last resting-place by men and women singing hymns through the streets? At the railroad station the multitude departed, but five or six hundred took the express train to Kjööge, where the family vault of his second wife was, and where he had wished to be buried. Where the train passed, the people on the roads or at their work on the fields uncovered their heads. The Norwegian poet Björnstjerne Björnson brought him at the tomb the last farewell from Norway. He had also written some magnificent poems for the occasion. Amid the chiming of bells, the singing of hymns, the sobbing of people, the coffin rolled into the family vault. So ended the man who at first was ridiculed as a fool. KRISTOFER JANSON.

## THE BIRD.

FROM THE SWEDISH OF J. J. WECKSELL, BY FREDERICK PETERSON.

There sits a little sparrow  
 Upon wild ocean's strand;  
 The sun far yonder rises  
 In the golden morning-land.

There sparkles among roses  
 A gate of rubies and gold;  
 The heart in the young bird's bosom  
 Desire and joy enfold.

He flies to the morning redness;  
 Fair glimmers the purple coast;  
 He struggles with feeble pinions;  
 He sings in joy utmost.

And farther and farther he hastens,  
 Not thinking where he may be,  
 Until wherever he glances  
 There lies but the desolate sea.

He flies till his wings grow weary,  
 Then sinks in the merciless wave—  
 And the sunset smiles in roses  
 And the stars in gold on his grave.

## THE SUPREMACY OF LATIN IN OUR SYSTEM OF EDUCATION.\*

Mr. Hedin—when he writes, when he speaks, when only he hums a melody in the other room—has the same effect on me as has strong wine on young Irish innocence; he makes me quarrelsome. I have read his treatise with delight, sometimes even fancying that I wrote it myself, so perfectly does the general drift of the exposition chime in with my own instincts. I have read it with respect. Mr. Hedin is an exceedingly well-informed man. He does not cease to be instructive, even when he invites to opposition. And he is a truly courageous man. Those old, time-honored prejudices which circulate in our veins, unchallenged and almost unnoticed, but which now and then break forth, taking us by surprise, and compelling us to modify our opinions in a way we don't want to—he does not fling them aside with a vague witticism, as if that were enough to kill them. No, deliberately he lets down the bar in front of them and deliberately he asks for their passport, nothing daunted by the idea, that his authority might be questioned. There rules throughout the whole treatise a spirit of free inquiry and fair

debate, which ought to fully satisfy the reader. Nevertheless, I must quarrel with the author. I cannot help it; I have drunk of his wine.

In the beginning of the treatise he makes the remark, that ideas which begin their life in history as the very motive power of progress, not so very seldom end as heavy clogs to every step onwards. The remark is strikingly true, and its application to the part Humanism has played in the history of European civilization, would have been perfectly appropriate, if the author had confined himself to simply applying it. But he has not. Mr. Hedin has also a drop of Irish innocence in his blood. It is apparent, that he has a quarrel standing with Humanism from drinking too much of its wine. In thousand passages of his treatise he reveals a more than suspicious inclination to represent Humanism as a thing, bad by itself and only excusable at first, because afterward it grew so immensely much worse. But that is wrong. What was Humanism, in Italy, he asks, but a simple, natural, national movement, a flight from a present which smarted, back into a past which could be gilded up? And what was it outside of Italy, in France and England and Germany, in Hungary, Poland, and the Scandinavian kingdoms, but an artificial, unnatural imitation, everywhere impeding the free, national development? Very well. But the geometrical garden, the tragedy in periwig, the ceremonial levee, the *l'état c'est moi* etc., was also a simple, natural, national development which, by being imitated by other people, became artificiality, unnaturalness, and a frightful impediment to their free, national development; and yet, between the age of Louis XIV. and the age of the Humanists there is a great difference, a difference in kind, which makes the author's characterization of Humanism altogether too vague and too weak. Humanism in Italy was a tremendous effort in behalf of freedom, and the effort was too successful to be overlooked. Humanism in Italy exploded the idea of a universal monarchy, with the pope at its head in the only manner in which that idea could be exploded, by making the pope, himself, a Humanist. It saved Europe from the fate of Thibet. It transformed the undefinable Dalay Lamah into a ghost, quite manageable. Outside of Italy it undeniably gave rise to much which now it is very easy to represent as artificial, unnatural, and impeding the free national development. But it would be very difficult to point out how those things could have been avoided, and it must, at all events, not be over-

\* "Om Latin-Herravärdet." By Adolph Hedin.

looked that from a historical point of view, the tyranny which Humanism established in its own domain, in the school, was a decided progress. The tyranny of the latin grammar is a vanity supported by prejudice. The tyranny of the popish catechism is an egotism supported by fanaticism. Which of those two kinds of tyranny does Mr. Hedin prefer to deal with? There can be no doubt. But so completely blind to the merits of Humanism is the author, that he even grudges it the poor praise of having taught its pupils to speak and write better Latin. People, he says, wrote Latin as well before Humanism as after. I think they did not. I think there was a fact behind the *Epistola obscurorum virorum*; or the book would have fallen flat upon the floor. I shall not try, however, to clinch the question in this form, for it has no interest to me. But there is another point of view from which the question about the style of the schoolmen and the style of the Humanists may be raised with pertinence.

We open the works of St. Bernard. A couple of his hymns are still living, probably in all tongues of Christendom, and I must confess that, though I know between twenty and thirty translations (eleven English), of *Salve, caput cruentatum*, I prefer the dead old Latin text, as the most impressive. In his Meditations there are strains of exquisite tenderness, especially when he speaks of flowers, which he must have loved dearly. In his letters there are passages of a singular, terse, practical common sense, as, for instance, when he gives his advice to a brother-abbot concerning pig-pens. The man could certainly write Latin. Nevertheless, the general impression of his writings is that of a language which wrote itself, never deviating from the set phrase, and of a style which, like a ready-made coat, uses the person who wears it to advertise the tailor who cut it. Next we open the works of his great adversary, or rather of his pitiable victim, Abelard; and here I think it almost impossible to read through one single paragraph without being reminded of Talleyrand's *sottise*: that words were given man to conceal his thoughts. All those sprightly sayings, all those subtle distinctions, all those ingenious arguments, what are they but so many strokes of fine fencing? When Abelard came to Clugny, to be allowed to die in peace, the abbot Peter described him as sitting most of the time alone, and speaking very little. I understand that. A fine fencer, when once attacked by a mad bull and compelled to flee for his life, may lay aside his rapier in disgust, never to touch it

anymore. We finally open the *Sententie* of Peter the Lombard, the pride of Scholasticism, the great result of the natural power of St. Bernard and the skill of Abelard. It is, in one sense of the word, the best book the Middle Ages ever produced, for no other book gives a so distinct and accurate expression of the innermost character of that period. The style of writing has there become a complete revelation of the method of thinking. We feel with certainty that there we have reached the consummation of something, and in order to understand what that "something" may be, we turn the leaf and read a preface, or an introductory, or an epistle by Erasmus. The impression is overwhelming; the fact is unmistakable. The Middle Ages represent one of the biggest lies which ever took root in the history of the race. On two pillars that lie was brought to rest: the steel of the knight and the Latin of the priest. Philologists and critics, as they were, the Humanists attacked that pillar which stood nearest to them, and the Latin grammar was the gunpowder they invented and applied. By that means they compelled people to say what they meant, to speak as they thought, to tell the truth, or at least to stop lying. Honor to the Latin grammar!

No—I only meant to say: Honor to its memory! For the Latin grammar has now become a huge lie itself, the nucleus of a floating mass of vanity, affectation, prejudice, and stupidity; see the author's sketch—which is neither exaggerated nor malicious—of the present state of classical education in England. How that came to pass, might be made the subject of a very attractive book, and Mr. Hedin would be just the man to write it. He is fully aware of the fact that the most ardent champions of the supremacy of Latin in our educational system are those who have profited the least by it. It is singular, but it is true: when a man has retained only two or three stray lines of Horace as the result of many hundred hours of hard work, he is most apt to become pathetic, or even furious, if any one dares to question the usefulness of that labor; while I. N. Madvig never hesitated to acknowledge that the usefulness of our present system of education is very questionable, and did his utmost to modify it in Denmark in accordance with the practical demands of the time. Nor do I think that the author has committed any great injustice when he characterizes the conservative or reactionary party in the educational debate now going on, by a reference to the principles of the Jesuits. In an

address to the Austrian government, the general of the Society of Jesus, Beckx, urged, in 1854, that the Latin language ought to be retained as the principal vehicle of instruction in the schools, because it is best fitted to keep the pupils close to the truth and away from errors; and I do not doubt that the shrewd calculation of the Jesuit is the latent instinct of the rest of the party. Let me add that Mr. Hedin shows a promptness in throwing a charlatan (Basedow) down the stairs, and a coolness in going on without so much as turning the head to see what became of the fellow, which, under all circumstances, are precious qualities in an historian, and may become indispensable when, as would be the case here, the subject itself has a tendency to long-windedness. I wish he would write the history of the Humanist ideal of education. Such as he has laid out his plan for the present treatise he only touches the principal points of that history. He occupies himself chiefly with those who have attacked and opposed the Humanist ideal of education, for it is one of his objects to show that the clamor of our time for a radical reform of the reigning educational system is not a new-fangled idea from yesterday, but an old want vividly felt more than a century ago. His characterization of the various standpoints from which attacks have been made upon the supremacy of Latin is very clear, very distinct, and very discriminating. The contempt with which he treats Rousseau, I think I understand. But there are a couple of omissions which I regret. He mentions Peter K  lmark, lector of philosophy at Karlstadt, d. 1839, and his account shows that something has there passed by without obtaining its due attention. But why does he not mention N. F. S. Grundtvig and M. A. Schweigaard? Grundtvig's criticism (especially in his "World's Chronicle") is often curious and has given rise to some crudities, but his practical opposition, his successful establishment of a popular education on a national basis, is a mustard-seed in Danish civilization. Of Schweigaard's agitation, it might be difficult to point out any palpable result, but its indirect influence in Norway is patent.

I must take care, however, not to leave the reader under a wrong impression. The historical elements, about which I perhaps have made much too much fuss, are very far from forming the largest or the most important portion of Mr. Hedin's treatise. The real pith of the work is its criticism, and the criticism is admirable. All the notes of the old fanfare are here taken up, one by one, put to the tuner's test, and declared to be

false. He ridicules the opinion that Latin should be the most suitable vehicle for teaching children what grammar and grammatical expression mean, because it is a dead language and because its forms of inflection are many and glaring to the eye. He analyzes several examples, and the reader will probably find his laughter very contagious. He scoffs at all declamation in behalf of the formal beauty of the works of the classical literatures, partly because schoolboys as a rule are utterly unable to enjoy such a delicacy, partly because the clumsy mannerism of Horace, the obtuse pomposity of Virgil, the disgusting affectation of Livius, on which schoolboys are principally fed, are rather unfortunate specimens. He protests against the view that human nature found its purest and most perfect development in the ancient civilization, because that development was based on slavery and is impracticable without slavery. On all these points the reader will find the author not only entertaining and instructive, but conclusive. With respect to a fourth point, the close connection between ancient and modern civilization, he seems to me to have been less successful. He shows an inclination to deny the existence of any such close connection and to seek for the root of modern civilization in the Middle Ages rather than in antiquity. It is probable, however, that he more than once has heard a priest or a priest-ridden historian praise Christianity for having introduced ideas and established institutions which, it is notorious, that Christianity has fought against with intense ardor and only adopted because it could not conquer them. It is at all events certain that he feels the great danger of weakening in any way the dim but powerful consciousness in modern civilization of the decisive influences it has received from ancient civilization. Now, it is very true that the duty of developing this consciousness properly devolves upon the instruction in history. But it cannot be denied that the instruction in the classical languages gives the teacher in history a most effective aid; and in this emergency Mr. Hedin falls back upon—translations? No! Homer can be read in translation, but only because thousands and thousands of artists and poets have filled the reader's imagination with illustrations of him and thereby prepared the way for him. Plato can be read in translation but only when the reader knows and understands that none of his categorical terms can be adequately rendered in a modern tongue, but must be divined behind the modern word, as if behind a mask. This means that



translations from the classical literatures will decrease in usefulness in the same proportion as the study of the classical languages decreases in extension, and there must be found another way out of the difficulty.

CLEMENS PETERSEN.

#### PAUL AND VIRGINIA OF A NORTHERN ZONE.

FROM THE DANISH OF HOLGER DRACHMANN, BY TH. A. SCHOVEN  
AND FRANCIS F. BROWNE.

(Continued.)

Tönnes had intended to walk to get warm—to walk far away from his own thoughts. He walked rapidly as soon as he had got a little distance from the smithy.

He stopped at the small bridge that crossed the brook and led to the inn-garden. There were lights inside, making the window-panes appear in ruddy contrast with the moonlight, which lay white and cold upon the wall. Suddenly he made up his mind to go in. He longed for company, yet did not stop to understand the reason.

About the large round table in the centre of the room were seated the first and second mates, with some of the crew, and a number of fishermen from the town. Evidently the captain's party was ended. Captain Spang liked to go to bed early; perhaps he had a special reason for doing so now, owing to the vigorous manner in which he had celebrated the day.

This supposition was confirmed by the first mate.

"The old man was so drunk," he was just explaining to the crew when Tönnes entered, "that at last he couldn't find his mouth to put his pipe in it."

All laughed.

"He was sitting gouging himself with his pipe," continued the speaker, "as though he would harpoon his own nose, or rub the drowsiness out of his eyes. Then we got hold of him and stowed him away in his hammock. We know him, you see. But little Nanna, the girl, wept bitterly. One might think she had never seen the old man half-seas over before."

Everyone joined in the laughter. For a moment Tönnes was sorry that he had come in here. But now they had seen him; and he felt somewhat quiet to find the first mate sitting here instead of over at the captain's.

"Well, my boy," exclaimed the mate, filling a glass from the big bowl on the table, "you are going to catch up with us now. That's good. Too many women spoil one's appetite. I myself

would have been glad to drift away from there a couple of hours before, if I could have seen a chance; but I had to keep watch with the old man. In a week or so we will be under sail, and then we will get our stomachs well rid of all we now pour into them. Your health, Tönnes! You kept up well on our last trip. . . . But what kind of a face is it you show to-night?"

Tönnes emptied his glass. He had roused himself on being reminded of the sea.

"Good! Here's another glass; drink and be glad, and the devil take all scruples. 'Tis the A B C of a sailor, and 'tis all my catechism."

"That might not do in all cases," ventured the second mate, an earnest-looking man of spare figure, protruding cheek-bones, and sharp features. He was sitting with an accordeon on his lap, from which he now and then dragged forth a long-drawn note or a single sharp creak.

"Every man may take his own course!" answered the first mate, unconcernedly and good-humoredly, as his nature was. "Let us have a song, Esbensen!" he exclaimed,—adding, with a threatening gesture, "but no funeral hymns, do you understand? Something lively and gay, like a polka-mazurka, and no sighing for dead loves!"

This was the weakness of Esbensen. He was always singing of dead loves.

"Keep your nonsense to yourself!" said the second mate, morosely.

"Nonsense!" cried the first mate, still good-naturedly. "Give us something . . . never mind what! Let us have a song; I will call for more drink."

"I think we can do very well with what we have," said Esbensen, quietly. "And you could do very well with even less."

"Come! No nonsense! I have ordered the drink. Let us have the song."

The accordeon sent forth its creaking tones, while the group about the table listened devoutly to the song, which was sung with great earnestness.

"I went down to the glittering sea  
Whereon I was to sail;  
And there my true love followed me,  
As it may never fail.  
'O best beloved of my heart,  
Let me go with you o'er the main;  
For if from you I now must part,  
I cannot live from pain."

"I answered her with phrases rude,  
Although my heart felt sore;  
But still she said, in pleading mood—  
'You must not leave me more.'

Then out we sailed across the blue,  
 Borne by our vessel fair;  
 Though Captain's orders, well we knew,  
 Would not allow her there.

"But when, the English Channel past,  
 The raging storms set in,  
 She cried: 'O God! I see at last  
 Thy punishment for sin.  
 O sweetheart, lift me up and throw  
 My body to the waters white;  
 For if with you I further go,  
 I sure shall die from fright!'

"My cheek grew pallid at the word;  
 But yet I could not bear  
 To throw the maiden overboard,  
 So on our course we fare.  
 The ship rose o'er the billows' crest,  
 And hurried us along;  
 The Captain said: 'Full well I guessed  
 The girl would work us wrong.'

"But when we came to Lisbon quay,  
 Our voyage ended quite,  
 Under a shroud my sweetheart lay,  
 A corpse so still and white.  
 And now for thee, friend of my heart,  
 I sorrow evermore;  
 In thy sad death I had my part,  
 In bearing thee from shore."

"Isn't it as I said?" cried the first mate. "He is always mourning for some dead love."

"It was really a nice song," remarked one of the crew, who was still sitting and beating the measure of the song with his foot on the floor.

"Oh, it is some foolishness!" cried the mate. "There is no sense in it. A girl dying from sea-sickness—bah!"

Then they began discussing quietly the probabilities of the matter. Most of them thought the thing might possibly happen. The first mate knocked on the table; the second mate took no part in the discussion, but occasionally drew a few notes from his instrument.

"Never mind!" cried the first mate. "'Tis no true sailor song; that must be set to an entirely different tune. A true sailor does not care for the girls. Let them go to the devil!—let them stay ashore! They are only made to harm us, I tell you! Many a brave boy has been spoiled by a pair of eyes that afterward only laughed at him. Let them go to the devil, I say. If we are going to capsize, then let us capsize, and stay with our vessel; but let the women stay where they are. I know a song about that."

"Then sing your song, and stop your crazy jabber!" said the second mate.

The first mate looked as though he would retort; but cries were heard: "Sing, sing!"

The mate smiled, filled all the glasses, wiped off his mouth, and asked the musician if he could play "The Devil and His Pageantry."

"I do not play such heathenish trash," answered the other, gruffly.

The first mate laughed.

"You needn't be afraid. There are many honest songs sung to monkey tunes. I can get along well enough without your old organ."

Then he sung—

"The breeze is whistling like a bird,—  
 A music-box a-trilling;  
 It buzzes as its wheels are stirred,  
 And the mighty bass of the sea is heard,  
 Its lighter pauses filling.  
 And a little music-box like this  
 (Holloa, boys, mark my word!)  
 Is the best delight of the sailor's heart  
 Which he can have on board.

"We cannot take the woods so fair,  
 Where thrushes and finches stay;  
 The woods have many a dangerous snare,  
 The birds have many a battle there,  
 And so good-bye we say.  
 Good-bye, thou forest of tuneful songs;  
 (Holloa, boys, mark my word!)  
 A sailor's song from the heart that comes  
 Refreshes all on board.

"I know there is one who sits on the shore,  
 With delicate white hands,  
 Who smiles and simpers o'er and o'er;  
 But let me never be merry more,  
 If that tune I can understand.  
 Oh, a little music-box like this  
 (Holloa, boys, mark my word!)  
 May do very well for a day ashore,  
 But not when we're on board.

"Full early enough will come that hour,  
 The hour of our vessel's doom,  
 When we shall be caught in the tempest's power;  
 But not, indeed, shall it yet be our  
 Fate on land like fishes to come.  
 And so good-bye to our sweethearts dear,  
 (Holloa, boys, mark my word!)  
 Though to a shipwreck we journey on,  
 Still let us die on board."

Once started, they went on singing. One song followed another, but they were of such a character that Tönnes, although he understood them, did not take any special pleasure in listening. He arose, and went away as soon as he could, unnoticed.

He was much troubled. What was it they had

been singing about? As he walked in the white moonlight, through the sand, he compared it with the surging waves in his own soul that day. He began to suspect the existence of something which he had hitherto experienced only as the blood coursing in his veins. He went near the captain's house. Deep quiet reigned there, while the moon peeped down into the chimney as though she would discover the dreams of the inmates.

"Is she sleeping now? Yes. Does she dream? Possibly. But about whom . . . ?" Tönnes appeared to himself like a thief, prowling about listening and exploring. Suppose anybody should see him! What would be thought of him?

He felt down-hearted. What was really the trouble with him?

Feeling how impossible it was for him to understand himself, he went back, making a wide detour around the inn, leaped across the brook, and returned slowly to the smithy, feeling soothed by the consciousness that he was walking alone, and that nobody could ask him any questions.

When he had reached the fence and was stealing quietly toward his chamber window, he noticed that Prussian was on the point of barking.

He whispered the dog's name, which immediately changed his bark into a low confidential whine, as though he would say: "Is it you? Is it you?"

As he wagged his tail his chain rattled. Tönnes longed for and needed company. He walked to the kennel on tip-toes, and stroked his comrade's head. Prussian returned the demonstrations of affection. He fully realized that he must not bark.

"No, I cannot possibly sleep to-night," he said to himself, as he loosened the dog's chain.

"Be quiet, Prussian! You may go with me, but be quiet, sir!"

The two friends strolled away together—where and why, one had not much more idea than the other. They pursued their way across the sand to the foot of the bluff. Tönnes climbed up and the dog leaped after him.

Tönnes seated himself upon a tree-root. The dog crouched in front of him and laid his muzzle on his lap. Tönnes took the faithful head between his hands. The one eye which still had sight noticed how the two eyes of his companion lingered with a strange half-absent expression upon the houses down on the sand, which, in the blinding moonlight, seemed almost floating and mingling with the sea.

Presently Tönnes's head sank down toward the dog. His breast heaved; his hand trembled. The dog uttered a low half-inquiring whine, as though, with almost human intelligence, he would ask the cause of his friend's trouble.

Tönnes pressed the dog's muzzle between his hands. At that moment he might have confided to his friend that he suffered from the first overpowering effect of a discovery he had just made. He loved the daughter of Andreas Spang.

It must be so. It could not possibly be otherwise. How young and inexperienced is one at eighteen years! Yet even then the tides of passion in the heart toss to and fro in murmuring streams, always growing stronger and stronger, till at last they rise, break forth, and cry: "It is so. Thou art ours. We have a hold on thee, we will not let thee go; listen now to us; we cry it into thine ear—thou lovest, lovest for the first time; thou art lost if thy love fails thee, for thou lovest like the race here upon this coast—thy race and hers, daring, proud, bound to a passion as this people to their strand, as the strand to the sea which rolls its eternal waves."

A touch can set adrift an unmoored boat. The mate's song had given the shock; Tönnes was drifting upon the sea of passion.

He groaned. The dog began to whine. Alas! Alas! the animal could not understand him. Why was it necessary that he should press so hard?

Tönnes sprang to his feet.

"Captain! Captain!" he exclaimed, passing his hand over his forehead.

So he stood thus, looking across the moonlit sea, whose waves broke against the sand. Those waves should serve him; by them he would reach her.

Meanwhile the waves were breaking within his own soul. He was yet so young; he had never before struggled against that current; he almost felt afraid to think how deep it ran.

And over strand and sea sprang the vast arch of the spring night, its bright orbs glittering like innumerable shining points. As we stand, on such a night and under such a sky, in long and lonely contemplation, we seem to hear murmurs of sublimity and peace, a low and soothing melody, stilling the tempest of the soul, subduing all our passion and disquietude, our yearnings and our hopes, our desires and our prayers;—the murmur of a wondrous, far-off voice which softly whispers: "Patience!"

Then Tönnes and Prussian went home to sleep.

## V.

And Nanna?

When, the week following, her father and Tönnnes started for the harbor, where the bark "Anna Dorothea" was at anchor, she went into her chamber and wept.

It seemed to her that she was weeping for her father. But had he not often left her for such journeys without her having been so deeply moved? Then it must be . . .

"For Tönnnes?" she asked herself.

He had looked so sad the day after the scene in the kitchen! Then she had called to him kindly, and asked what ailed him; to which he answered only by a silent pressure of her hand. Then she cried "Oh!" so that he released it, and went away; and thus the last days had passed without either of them taking much pleasure in the company of the other.

The last day they had spent together they met at old Jacob's house on the bluff. They sat on the bench outside the signal station, both in silence.

Then Tönnnes had suddenly risen, and pointing over the sea, said:

"I shall certainly be a captain, like your father."

He spoke so abruptly that she could not help laughing.

"You need not laugh!" exclaimed Tönnnes.

"I cannot help it."

"Then you can sit here and laugh alone!"

And with these words Tönnnes sprang away down the path.

He had indeed been too strange and capricious.

The young maiden stood weeping in her chamber, leaning her elbows on her small dressing-case. But people did not weep long at a time here on this coast. She soon grew angry with herself, and wiped the tears off her cheeks. Then she opened the upper drawer of her bureau, where were kept her little presents from her confirmation. There was also a small red-covered book, with the title: "Journal of the Bark 'Anna Dorothea,' Captain Andreas Spang, on a Voyage to Cadiz and the West Indies, and back *via* Leith."

The characters were large and high, and occasionally jostled each other's elbows in their eagerness to hurry on. But Nanna did not observe this.

It was Tönnnes's diary of his first voyage. Captain Spang, who himself wrote unwillingly, had

ordered his ship-boy to keep this journal. It might be of some use to him afterward, he said; and when he came home he made his daughter a present of the little book.

Nanna opened it, and read. But soon she grew tired of the monotony of these reports of weather and wind and the daily work on shipboard. She was unable to find Tönnnes himself beneath all these short sailor expressions, with which she certainly was familiar, but which told her more of the ship than of the boy. She would have preferred a letter. But letters were not written much on this coast.

She pushed the book back into its place, and took out the box Tönnnes had given her.

She held in her hand the chain, with the three small agates. She remembered the expression in her playmate's eyes, when he, half bashfully, half wistfully, had held the box out toward her.

The chain grew almost warm in her hand. She put it quickly around her neck, noticing at the same time that the three little agates were but slightly fastened to the gold spring and might easily be separated from the chain. The latter was sufficiently strong; she tested it by pulling it so that it left a red circle upon her pretty neck.

She had some white silk thread. Silk, she knew, was considered very strong. She tied, in true sailor fashion, the emblems of Hope, Faith, and Love, and fastened them to the silver chain, finishing with a solid treble knot. Then she knew that it could not become unfastened.

After that day, she always wore the chain in plain sight around her neck. But the three small agates rested where no curious eye could see them—over the warm beating heart of the young maiden.

And the summer passed.

[To be continued.]

#### THE COMMERCE OF SWEDEN IN OLDEN TIMES.

This formed the subject of a lecture delivered some time ago in the Society of Political Economy, at Stockholm, by *Riksrådet* H. Hildebrand. Commerce has taken place from immemorial times. The flint used by the aborigines for axes and wedges existed only in the southern part of Sweden, in Skåne, but is found both as raw material and in the shape of well finished tools in middle and even in northern Sweden. In the beginning of the Age of Iron, Roman coins and tools were carried to Sweden, and in a grave on the island of Gothland, was found an ornament from about 600 B.C., made from a shell which only exists in the Indian Ocean. From the end of the Pagan time, large treasures of Arabian and Western silver coins are found in Sweden. Intercourse with the Orient took place first; from later



periods, about equal amounts of Eastern and Western coins are found, until at last the latter entirely superseded the former. At this period, during the reign of King Olof Skötkonung, the first money was coined in Sweden after English model. It is wrong to suppose that the Varangians brought these treasures from Constantinople; they came, as well from other countries as from the Orient, before the guard of Varangians was established, they were the result of commerce. Ansgar, when preaching the Christian religion in Sweden, travelled in the company of merchants; and even women could safely undertake a journey like that from Björkö, in Sweden, to Dorestad, in Holland. In the latter town, which once was a celebrated refuge for Norse vikings, objects are found similar to those excavated at Björkö. The Northmen were often at once vikings and merchants. The whole intercourse was, however, entirely free and spontaneous.

In the Middle Ages, regulation became the rule. The old adventurous excursions to Iceland and Greenland were forgotten. Navigation consisted chiefly in cautious sailing along the coasts. The ships were no more the sharply built vessels of the vikings; they were heavy and rounded, both fore and aft. A particular place was held by the island of Gothland, on which Western coins are more abundantly found than in western and southern Sweden. The commerce with the East was greatly facilitated by Swedish settlements in Russia. The reigning house of this country was continually closely connected with the Scandinavian countries. Thus, Kristina, the daughter of King Inge, the Older, married the Russian Grand Duke Mstislav, and their daughters became the wives of King Sigurd Jorsalfar, in Norway, and Duke Knut Lavard (*i. e.* Lord), in Sleswick. The first commercial regulations in the Russian town of Novgorod were named after Gothland, the Gothland code. Later appeared other laws named from Lübeck. The German Emperor Lothar and, later, Duke Henry Lion, the conqueror of the Slavs at the Baltic, gave great privileges to the merchants of Visby, on Gothland. Later, German merchants settled there amongst the Swedes. The Hansa, the celebrated union between the free cities of North Germany and other northern countries, originated from the alliance of German merchants sailing to Gothland. In spite of numerous pirates, their united navies went as far as to southern France and to Lisbon, in Portugal. The Dutch and the English partook in this active commerce. From the Baltic provinces, lumber, fur, and grain were exported; while salt, cloth, wine, and spices were imported from the South, the latter being used in greater quantities than now-a-days. The first Swedish cities were founded by Knut Eriksson and Birger Jarl (*i. e.* Earl), 1100-1200 A.C. Their connection with the Hanseatic cities was appreciated, rather than feared. Many German merchant families settled in these Swedish towns. Soon, however, became town and trade privileges the rule all over; free movements were hindered; even prices were fixed by ordinances. Import duties are known since 1380. The prohibition of exporting oxen to Denmark caused the Dacke rebellion in Småland. Fairs were of the greatest importance; the most celebrated were the fall fairs of Falsterbo and Skanör, where Swedes, Danes, and Germans met. During the wars with Denmark, commerce suffered to such an extent that articles as salt and hops could be had but with difficulty. All efforts to be without commerce proved unsuccessful.

#### NOTES AND NEWS.

HENRIK IBSEN is engaged in writing a drama treating of the principles of education of woman.

THE superior court of southern Sweden, *Skånska Högret*, will move to Lund, the University town.

AT the election of a bishop at Westerås, Sweden, Professor Billing obtained a majority of votes.

THREE hundred girls from North Sleswick are going to visit farmers in the vicinity of Copenhagen.

CONFERENTSRAAD HOLM, formerly burgomaster of Copenhagen, died, lately, about eighty years of age.

MR. E. WIND, the Danish ambassador to St. Petersburg, will succeed Mr. Quaade at the imperial court in Berlin.

SWEDISH gymnastics will be introduced into the London board schools. The government has called Captain Haasum as organizer.

MRS. FEILBERG LASSEN is the name of a new Danish singer appearing in London under the protection of the Princess of Wales.

THE King of Denmark intends, during the summer, to go to Wiesbaden, and, later, to visit the Prince and the Princess of Wales, in England.

MR. BERGGREN, the Swedish Norwegian consul at San Francisco, has resigned, and intends to move to Paris. He is succeeded by Mr. Henry Lund.

MISS CECILIA FLAMAND, a popular solo *danseuse*, at *Stora Teatern*, Stockholm, has accepted a flattering engagement to the Imperial Theatre, in Berlin.

IT is reported that three Danish editors from North Sleswick at present are kept in a Prussian jail, and a fourth is expected soon to partake in their fate.

A VOLUNTARY subscription of money to pay the court expenses and fines of the sentenced ministers of state, in Norway, brought in more than double the amount needed.

BJÖRNSTJERNE BJÖRNSSON writes from Paris that his friendship to the editor of *Verdens Gang* is not so great that he will allow him to go to the penitentiary for Mr. Björnsson's article.

IN the United States exist, according to the last census, forty-eight Danish Norwegian weeklies, and one daily journal, supposed to have one hundred and twenty thousand subscribers.

DANISH bonds and stock find at present a good market in Germany. A new emission of mortgage bonds of *Landmandsbanken* have been received with great eagerness in Berlin and Hamburg.

THE majority of the Swedish Parliament has finally voted down the extraordinary demands on the military budget, with the exception of a few less significant posts—expenses to torpedoes, for instance.

MR. C. O. HANSEN, a well-known Danish architect of Chicago, has won the prize for his design and plans to an insane asylum for Cook County, Illinois, the building of which he himself will lead and superintend.

MR. ED. GRIEG, the Norwegian composer, and Mrs. Nina Grieg, known as a fine songstress, made a great success at a concert in Rome, given in the house of the German ambassador, Baron v. Keudell, Palazzo Caffarelli.

In our April number we mentioned that Crown Prince Gustaf, according to a cablegram from Christiania, was appointed Viceroy of Norway. This appointment was but for a short time, during the return of King Oscar to Stockholm.

THE Danish government has given a proof of its intolerance by giving the professorship of literature, at the University of Copenhagen, to an obscure critic, Mr. Palludan, and not to Dr. Georg Brandes, the greatest æsthetical talent in Denmark.

MR. AUGUST STRINDBERG, the radical and skeptical Swedish poet, publishes a new volume, "*Sömnängar nätter*" ("Nights of Somnambulism"), dedicated to Björnsterne Björnson and Jonas Lïe, friends from his recent sojourn in Paris.

In the Second Chamber, in Sweden, Mr. Borg moved to give women who, as tax-payers, are electors and eligible in the *communes* the same rights as to elections to the Second Chamber. Forty-four members voted for the motion; fifty-three against it.

MR. HOWITZ, a Danish graduate of forestry, recommends in a report to Dr. Lyons, M. P., to reforest by public means five million acres of waste lands in Ireland. This report attracts vast attention, and is the subject of articles in London *Times* and other papers.

THE leading journal in the Swedish capital, *Aftonbladet*, seems to have partially changed proprietors. Captain P. I. A. Berg, its present chief owner, and Professor Montan, its leading genius, will continue the publication of the journal in a moderately conservative spirit.

THE well-known Norwegian authoress, Marie Colban, died lately in Rome. She had for years lived in Rome or Paris as newspaper correspondent, translator, and author of original novels, some of which were published in a German translation in *Ueber Land und Meer*.

WOMEN'S right to vote is in Finland recommended by two provincial governors; one of them advocating that all unmarried self-supporting women in the towns ought to be admitted to the polls; the other urging that all women paying taxes shall enjoy elective franchise.

MR. KNUTE NELSON, the Scandinavian congressman from Minnesota, showed a commendable independence by voting against his party, the Republican, and for the Morrison bill. By voting for free trade he proved himself a true representative of the majority of his countrymen.

A COLLECTIVE vote of the two chambers of the Swedish *Riksdag* has made the contributions of the state to the theatres in Stockholm dependent on a similar contribution from the city government. Thus they have followed the good example given some years ago by the "Left" in Denmark.

In Sweden the liberal newspapers, and especially the prominent *Göteborgs Handels och Sjöfartstidning*, as well as the liberal and democratic parties—and among them such men of the "Centre-party" as Baron Nordenskiöld—evidently sympathize more with the popular movement in Norway than with the king and the "Right."

THE Finnish Administrative Senate intends to accomplish a codification of Finland's laws, especially recommended by Count Heyden, by a preparing of special parts through a committee on law and a subsequent submitting of them to the States. It is even intended to have the constitu-

tion embodied in a bill and laid before the States without any changes in the existing law.

THE budget now voted in Denmark appropriates money to three authors, Messrs. Schandorph, Brosböll (Carit Eldar), and Thorsøe; but the minister, Mr. Seavenius, is unwilling to pay out the amount. Mr. Schandorph intends to sue the treasury for his portion. This conflict is somewhat similar to one of the minor conflicts in Norway.

A PROMINENT Swede, *Justitierådet* Carleson, is dead. He was minister of justice in Sweden, from May, 1874, to May, 1875, and represented, later, in the First Chamber, the northern district of Calmar län. He was an eminent jurist, and, together with Baron de Geer, the author of the present law on the organization of the Swedish parliament.

THE twelve students at the University of Upsala, who were reported to have become Catholics, are now said to be either free-thinkers or Buddhists, and only to have professed the Catholic creed because a segregation from the official Lutheran church of Sweden is only allowed to such who join a dissenting denomination, at least nominally.

As an answer to the present frequent indictments of Norwegian newspapers for publishing anti-royalistic articles, the *Storting* proposes, through a majority of the members of the *Odelsthing*, to diminish the punishment for offenses against the king to such an extent that it will only be one degree higher than that for offenses against private persons.

THE Archbishop of Sweden and a number of bishops and professors in theology have declared themselves opposed to the planned meeting of the Evangelical Alliance, in Sweden. They seem to fear that the few sectarians in that country thereby may gain greater strength. In Denmark, several meetings have already taken place to invite the Alliance to meet there.

THE *Riksdag* and the government in Sweden have agreed upon a new patent law, according to which patents can only be given to inventors or their representatives, and for a time limited to fifteen years. A yearly payment is demanded, increasing so that it in all may amount to seven hundred and seventy-five crowns. For the benefit of the commonwealth the king can at any time abrogate the patent.

EDWARD BULWER, Lord Lytton, derived his name from the old Danish name Bölver or Bölverk. One of his ancestors, a Norman soldier called Bölver, settled in Norfolk, and was, according to Norman custom, named Bölver de Dalling, the latter being the name of his estate. Later, the family followed the fashion reigning in the old Danish part of England, and took up again the old Scandinavian family name.

ICELAND has five journals—three in Reykjavik, and two in Akuejri. One of the most prominent is *Tjóðolf*, formerly edited by the poet, Sira [Icelandic for Sir, used like Rev.] Mathias Jochumson, now by the Icelandic American Jon Olafson. *Ísafold*, edited by B. Johnson, is in constant opposition to the government in Copenhagen. An Icelandic monthly published in Copenhagen was mentioned in our April number.

MR. ABRAHAMS, a good actor, has succeeded Mr. Robert Watt as director of the *Folketheater* in Copenhagen. Mr. Watt intends to live in Paris as a newspaper correspondent and a translator of French comedies into Danish.

Mr. Abrahams will be assisted in the management of the theatre by the young radical author Herman Bang, who intends, during the summer, to travel through Norway and Sweden with a Danish dramatic company.

SOPHUS HEEGAARD, professor in philosophy at the University of Copenhagen, died lately, forty-nine years of age. He may best be characterized as a modern disciple of Kant. Not only in his philosophical writings, but also in newspaper articles, and works of fiction, he proved to be a keen critic. He furnishes a remarkable example of a late conversion from free-thinking into orthodoxy; but his philosophical friends explain this phenomenon from long mental and bodily disease and weakness.

IN Denmark, the cabinet and the "Right," forming the majority of the *Landsting*, the Upper House, have avoided a conflict by not opposing the large reductions on the budget voted by the "Left," amounting in all to more than five million crowns. The opposition has especially refused any increase of expenses for military purposes, whether proposed on the budget or embodied in special bills, as it does not wish to vote money to the present cabinet, and disagrees with the "Right" in its ideas of the fortification of Copenhagen.

BJÖRNSTJERNE BJÖRNSSON has published in *Verdens Gang* an article in which he mocks the king, because he does not, "like a governor of Massachusetts," retire from his position when in opposition to the people, but executes a judgment which he considers unjust; and he declares that the Norwegian nation has proven a better follower of justice than has the House of Bernadotte. *Verdens Gang* being indicted for the publication of this article, Bjørnstjerne Björnson has returned from Paris to Norway to assume the responsibility.

MR. FRED. BRANDT, senior member of the faculty of law at the University of Christiania, writes in *Dagbladet* against the advice of the "Right," not to recognize the sentences of the "Court of the Realm." He is inclined to grant the king an absolute veto in all constitutional questions, but finds fault with the cabinet on account of its opposition toward the well-defined will of the nation, and he rejoices in the sentences as an expression of the theory that the ministers must be in accordance with the people, as they "are the servants of the commonwealth, not of the king."

SWEDEN has at present 6,400 kilometers of railroad; 2,299 owned by the government, and 4,101 by private companies. They have cost 454,000,000 crowns, or 71,000 crowns per kilometer—the government roads 96,000, the private narrow-gauge only 36,800, and the private roads of normal gauge 67,000 crowns per kilometer. The income is—as in the United States, but very different from most other European railroads—about two thirds from freight and only one third from passenger traffic. The government roads bring an interest of 3.84, and the private a dividend of 4.23 per cent.

ELIAS LÖNNROT, the celebrated Finnish linguist, died on the nineteenth of March, 1884, eighty-two years of age. The son of a country tailor, he began life in his father's trade; became, later, an apothecary, a student, a physician, and was, at last, in 1853, appointed professor in the Finnish language at the University of Helsingfors, as the successor of the renowned Professor Castrén. As early as 1828, he

was collecting old-folk songs, sayings, and riddles, making, for this purpose, excursions through Finland, Lapland, Ingemanland, and the northwestern districts of Russia. The publication, in 1838, of the great national epos, *Kaleva's*, is the monumental work of his industrious life. His collection of songs and ballads is titled *Kanteletar*. Although he, like all cultivated men of his native country, was educated in Swedish, he exercised the greatest influence on the formation of the language of Finnish literature.

THE great jealousy which usually is shown by the Norwegians toward the Swedes has, during the late political conflict, been fostered in several ways. King Oscar, when returned to Stockholm, was met at the depot by a number of prominent men, and here he spoke quite freely of his actions in Norway as union king. Afterward, the Swedish minister of state, Mr. Thyselius, maintained in a letter to the king, which now is published, that, according to the opinion of the Swedish ministers, the union between Sweden and Norway presupposes and demands that the constitutions of both countries cannot be changed without the sanction of the king. It was furthermore remarked in the same letter that the king was the commander of the military forces of both kingdoms, this remark referring to the question of the Norwegian rifle-volunteers. This forms the subject for numerous bitter and vehement articles in Norwegian newspapers; indictments of the editors being, in some cases, the immediate result hereof.

It is very likely that also the Swedish Parliament will have a conflict with King Oscar. The Lower House has, with a great majority, voted a reduction of ten per cent on the land-tax. Some years ago, the parties seemed to agree upon an extension of the conscription, on one hand, and a reduction, on the other hand, of the land-tax and of the peasantry's obligation to sustain the soldiers by furnishing them with allotments of land. The final bill could, however, not be carried. Now, the peasant majority of the Lower House demands one side of the former compromise, the reduction of the land-tax, on the reasons that the difference between the burdens imposed on the peasant farms and those on the privileged large farms is unjust, and—what certainly is more plausible—that the present agriculture is suffering from competition with the United States and Russia. The "Centre-party" seems willing to co-operate with *Landtmannapartiet* in demanding a moderate amortization of the unequal land-tax, and there is scarcely any doubt that a great majority of the Lower House will maintain its position on this question. If a reduction or amortization should be carried by the combined collective vote of the two chambers, the king is, according to the Swedish constitution, unable to hinder the resolution's taking effect.

KING OSCAR has at last formed a new Norwegian cabinet. It does, however, not consist of men of the "Centre-party," as we hoped for, but is composed of men of the "Right." The three members of the late cabinet who were only fined by the "Court of the Realm," will remain in office, two of them, Messrs Johansen and Herzberg, only until successors can be found. Mr. Bang, *Amtmand* (governor) of Buskerud *Amt* (county), is appointed minister of the interior, Secretary Reimers, minister of finance, *Felttøjimester* (master of ordnance) Dahl, minister of army, Professor Anbert, minister of justice, while Professor Ebbe Herzberg, Mr. Lövenskjöld, a great landed proprietor, and

Mr. Herzberg, *Sen.*, go to Stockholm, as the king's advisers. Mr. Schweigaard remains as minister of audits and premier; Mr. Lövenskjöld will preside amongst the ministers at Stockholm, and Mr. Johansen is minister of navy. No minister of cult is yet appointed, and the situation as a special minister of audits will, according to a former decision of the *Storting*, be filled no more. Mr. Emil Stang, the most stalwart member of the "Right" in the *Storting*, has, at all events, not yet accepted any position in the cabinet. Notwithstanding the great ability and moderation of some of the new ministers, especially of Professor Aubert and his younger colleague, Professor Herzberg, this cabinet signifies undoubtedly continued bitter conflict.

MR. ASGER HAMERIK's new sacred composition, "Christian Trilogy," is spoken of by the *Baltimore American* in the following flattering terms: "We must not forget that a new work will be produced here for the first time, a work destined to immortality, and will be conducted by its composer. Occasions of this sort are rare anywhere, . . . and Baltimore has reason to feel honored that the 'Christian Trilogy' is to be brought out here. We all ought to show our appreciation. It is dedicated by permission to the Pope, though it is not distinctively Catholic. The words are taken from the Evangelies and from the very old Christian hymns. The first movement is God the Father, a purely symphonic composition, majestic and noble—not, of course, intended to portray the Deity, for that would be impossible, but to express the reverential emotions which we should feel in contemplating Divinity. The second movement is God the Son. The chorus sings 'Come unto Me all ye who are weary and heavy laden, and I will give you rest,' and other beautiful utterances of the Redeemer. A single baritone voice sings the characteristic words. The accompaniment is at times the organ, at times a body of eight harps, at times the orchestra, as the sentiment requires. The effects are exquisite. The chorus unites in this movement, but serves chiefly as a background against which the baritone solo part stands out. The last movement is the Holy Ghost, and is chiefly choral. The words are the ancient hymn, 'Come, Holy Spirit,' *Veni, sancte spiritus*, and the movement has the Pentecostal fire in it. The accompaniment is majestically instrumented, and enriched by the body of harps and the organ and a chime of church bells cast especially for this occasion, so as to chord perfectly with the orchestral instruments. This movement seems designed to portray Christian worship, and is grandly conceived." Mr. Hamerik is a Dane by birth and education.

#### BOOKS AND PERIODICALS RECEIVED.

THE ATLANTIC MONTHLY. May, 1884: A Roman Singer, Chapters xxi., xxii., by F. Marion Crawford; The Anatomizing of William Shakespeare, Chapter i., by Richard Grant White; Linguistic Paleontology, by E. P. Evans; The Arbutus, by H. H.; En Province, Chapter viii., by Henry James; At Bent's Hotel, by E. W. Bellamy; Dew of Parnassus, by Edith M. Thomas; Matthew Arnold as a Poet, by Harriet Waters Preston; In War Time, Chapters ix., x., by S. Weir Mitchell; Governor Thomas Hutchinson, by George E. Ellis; The Silver Danger, by J. Laurence Laughlin; William H.

Seward, by Henry Cabot Lodge; Marechal Niel, by T. B. Aldrich; The Progress of Nationalism, by Edward Stanwood; Recent American Fiction; Tuttle's History of Prussia; Edward Bulwer, Lord Lytton; The Contributors' Club; Books of the Month.

THE BAY STATE MONTHLY. April, 1884: Captain G. H. Perkins, by Capt. George E. Belknap (with steel engraving, map, and illustrations); From the White Horse to Little Rhody, by C. M. Barrows; Dungeon Rock, Lynn, by F. P. Harriman; Lancaster in Acadia and the Acadians in Lancaster, by H. S. Nourse; Gifts to Colleges and Universities, by C. F. Thwing; Song of the Winds, by H. P. Carrington; British Losses in the Revolution; The Boston Young Men's Christian Association, by Russell Sturgis, Jr. (illustrated); The Ohio Floods, by Hon. G. E. Jenks; The Boston Tea Party; Facsimile Reprint of Daniel Webster's Fourth of July Oration, Delivered in 1880. Boston: John N. McClintock & Co.

THE DIAL. April, 1884: The Philological Society's New English Dictionary, by W. H. Wells; German Mercenaries in the Revolutionary War, by W. F. Poole; Two Books Concerning Goethe, by Melville B. Anderson; The Study of Early Institutions, II., by James O. Pierce; How to Teach History, by N. M. Wheeler; John Bright, by A. L. Chapin; Briefs on New Books; What is a Philosopher, by William Morton Payne; Literary Notes and News. Chicago: Jansen, McClurg, & Co.

LE LIVRE. Avril, 1884: Bibliographie Ancienne: I., La Caricature Allemande (illustrations); II., Chronique du Livre (illustrations). Bibliographie Moderne: Vieux Aïrs, Jeunes Paroles, par Octave Uzanne; Le Mouvement Littéraire, par Edouard Drumont; Correspondance Étrangères; Comptes Rendus des Livres Récents; Gazettes Bibliographiques; Sommaire des Publications Périodiques Françaises. 7 Rue Saint-Benoît, Paris. New York: Bouton, Bonaventure, Brentano, Christern.

GREV REVENTLOW OG BONDENS FRIGJØRELSE, af Hans Rasmussen. Kjöbenhavn: Andreas Schou, 1884.

FORTELLINGER FRA KRIGEN, 1848-1850, af Th. Sandel. Kjöbenhavn: Andreas Schou, 1883.

KAMMERATER. Dramatisk Situation, af Peter Nansen. Kjöbenhavn: Andreas Schou, 1884.

GAMLA OCH NYA HEMLANDET. Chicago, Ill.

SVENSKA AMERIKANEREN. Chicago, Ill.

BERGENS TIDENDE. Bergen, Norway.

THE INDEPENDENT. New York City.

SVENSKA ARBETEREN. Chicago, Ill.

THE AMERICAN. Philadelphia, Pa.

FOLKEBLADET. Minneapolis, Minn.

WEEKLY MAGAZINE. Chicago, Ill.

THE NATION. New York City.

NORDVESTEN. St. Paul, Minn.

FOLKETS AVIS. Racine, Wis.

SCIENCE. Cambridge, Mass.



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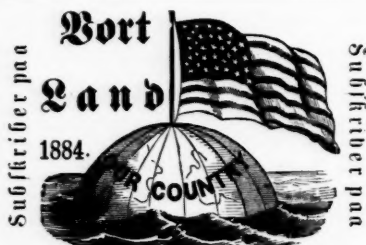
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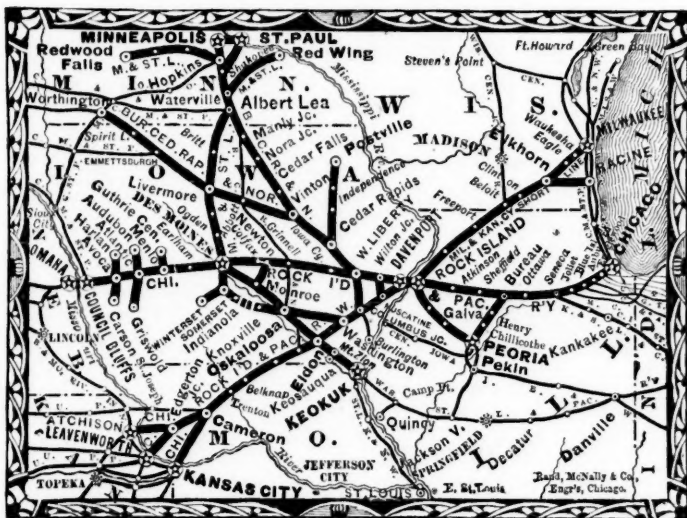
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